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so-and-so," but eventually he is given a personal name by his parents. Even this name has an influence over his life and should he become sick often, the name is to blame and a more appropriate one is chosen by the priest or the witch-doctor. Boys and girls are called by their names, but it would be poor manners to do so after the child has grown up. A personal name is private property and it is always patronizing to call a person by his name. High-caste people keep their names secret and go through life called only by their caste titles.

Most commonly used are the words that refer to the order of a person's birth: the first child of Sudras is called *Wayang*; *Putú* or *Gedé* for high castes; the second child is *Madé* or *Nengah*; the third is *Nyoman*; and the fourth is *Ktut*. The order is repeated for subsequent children. Satrias add the word *Ngurah* to their other titles to indicate the purity of their descent (for example, Anak Agung Ngurah Gedé). The words for father (*bapa*) and mother (*memé*) have a very elastic application; every uncle and aunt is called *bapa* and *memé*, and every cousin is a brother or sister, but a well-bred young man calls his father *gurú* ("teacher"). Elderly people are called grandfather (*pekak*) or grandmother (*dadong*) as a sign of respect in the same way that a young man calls his older friends "elder brother" (*blí*), while a girl is called "sister" (*embok*). After a Sudra couple have children their name changes to "Father or Mother of so-and-so." Our servant Dog, the father of little Muluk, was called Panmuluk and his wife was known as Menmuluk. Gusti's wife, a woman of high caste, was called Gusti Rake, but after she became the mother of Gusti Gede she became known as Gusti Biang Rake, *biang* being a polite term for "mother."

From the time the child can walk, he is left to himself and falls in the care of other children. Small girls know how to take care of babies with the same proficiency as their mothers and it is common to see babies carried on the hips of girls only slightly older. The child learns early to be self-sufficient and is free to wander all over the village and to do as he pleases. A child is

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832 The love technique of the Balinese is natural and simple; kissing, as we understand it, as a self-sufficient act, is unknown and the caress that substitutes for our mode of kissing consists in bringing the faces close enough to catch each other's perfume and feel the warmth of the skin, with slight movements of the head (*ngaras, diman*) in the manner which has been wrongly called by Europeans "rubbing noses." In general, the love prac-
833 tices of Westerners seem to the Balinese impractical and clumsy, especially in relation to intercourse, for which the general adopted form is the man kneeling, the woman reclining, a posture such as Malinowsky describes of the Trobriand Islanders in his *Sexual Life of Savages*. The Balinese believe that too hasty
[845] intercourse can only result in a deformed child. I have insisted that the Balinese are frank in sexual matters, although the terminology for the sexual act is governed by definite rules: there are extremely refined terms like the classic *akrida*; usual ones, *metemú*, "to meet"; and unmentionably coarse ones (*mekatuk*). There are, besides, terms used for animals, such as *metungan* and *mesakí*.

835 The taboo against incest (*salah timpal*) extends to certain
608 spiritual relations; it is incest to sleep with the daughter of one's teacher, who is considered as his pupil's spiritual father. A real child cannot marry an adopted brother or sister, and among the Bali Agas cousins are equally forbidden to marry, although the rest of the population does not always agree, especially the nobility, among whom such marriage is often considered desirable.
[732] Tabooed for sexual relations are albinos, idiots, lepers, and in general the sick and deformed. Making love to a woman of a
[564] higher caste is a dreadful breach of caste rules and a dangerous one if discovered — I have mentioned that in old times the couple was killed — although it is not unthinkable that a Sudra boy may have a secret love affair with a noble girl.

838 It is my impression that sexual abnormality is not prevalent among the Balinese and if it exists at all among the common people is due purely to mercenary reasons. The people are nat-

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cremation of the Regent of Buleleng's daughter, a small pavilion caught fire near where the high priest performed the maweda, almost burning, prematurely, the corpse lying in state; the priest went on with his prayer totally unmindful of the wild screams of the women attendants and the rushing relatives, who extinguished the flames.

To become himself again, the priest sprinkles water towards him and "drives back his soul into the stomach." He takes off his ornaments and pins a little bouquet of multi-coloured flowers over his hair knot. This ends the ceremony, and he sprinkles his relatives and neighbours with the remaining holy water.

Despite the secrecy with which the priests surround the knowledge of the Sanskrit *mantras*, a good many of them have been studied and translated by Dutch and Javanese scholars, such as De Kat Angelino, R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, and Dr. R. Goris, and I refer those interested in *mantras* to their works. Most sacred of all the aphorisms of the *pedandas*, and as typical as any, is the *kuta mantra*: "OM, HRAM HRUM SAH, PARAMA-SHÎVA-DITYÂTA NAMAH: Om, hram hrum sah, praise be to the all-high Shiva, the Sun" (Goris).

Religious knowledge is transmitted from father to son or from teacher (*gurú*) to pupil (*ssisiya*). The priest then becomes his pupil's absolute master and his father; even in case there be no blood relationship between them, marriage with the teacher's daughter would be considered as incest, a most dreadful crime. All Brahmanas are eligible to become *pedandas* with the exception of lepers, madmen, epileptics, the deformed, and those who have received dishonourable punishments. The pupil learns Kawi first, the classic language, to study the preparatory texts; is taught the moral principles by which to rule his life, which are, according to De Kat Angelino, the capital sins: crime, greed, hypocrisy, envy and ill temper, morbidness; the five commandments for the outer world: Thou shalt not kill, not steal, be chaste, not be violent, adhere to the principle of passive resistance; and those for the inner self: avoid of impure foods, or

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159 The father of Rendah was called Boedal. He was one of five sons who
602 were, in order of birth, Bedil, Boedal, Klepoeg, Krèbèk, and Siboh (fig. 2, I).
[569] All five served during their adolescence as parakans, temporary slaves or attendants, to the local Tjokordā, a Satrya prince. In return the prince made them grants of land when they married. He was a prince famous for his generosity. "One was ashamed to ask anything of him, for he gave so much."

The father of these five was called Géwar. No one remembers the name of Géwar's father, nor of his elder brother, who figures in this study (fig. 2, I). All that we know about the old man, who was Géwar's father and Rendah's great-grandfather, is that he lived in a house next to the old "palace" (now disappeared) of the Tjokordā in Bandjar Koetoeh, the same bandjar which Rendah and his cousins still inhabit. Géwar was born in this house, but he did not inherit it. After his marriage, to Raras, also of Bandjar Koetoeh, he lived in the house marked 2 on the plan (fig. 3). Possibly this was a grant of the Tjokordā. In those days the region all about the village of Sajan was wilderness, covered with forest. When families grew and the young men wished to set up for themselves, they had to clear the ground for their housecourts and ricefields, level the land into terraces, and extend the canal system to bring water to their fields. This tremendous task must have been carried out by groups. It is known that the parent village of Sajan was Peliatan, a village at a distance of five or six miles, and that in the time of Rendah's grandfather and great-grandfather offshoots of many Peliatan families, the overflow from a district already fully populated, pushed out to form the new settlement of Sajan.

159 The five sons of Géwar, then, were born in House 2. The eldest, Bedil,
591 moved out from this house, and built House 3 at the time of or shortly after his marriage. He had five children, the three eldest, girls, the two youngest, boys (fig. 2, II). They are Rendah's paternal parallel first cousins. It is to the son of one of these cousins, Gari, that Rendah has married his eldest daughter.

591 The eldest daughter of Bedil, Méweh, became the second wife of a man
608 called Soewakā, who was a sentanā to his first wife. A sentanā is a young man, generally a younger son, who marries the daughter of a man without sons. He then becomes the successor of his father-in-law, lives in the house of the bride's parents, makes offerings at the household shrine of her ancestors, and foregoes his own family. He inherits from his father-in-law house and land, and his children continue the line not of his parents, but of their maternal grandfather. In this case the man is said to "follow the woman," and becomes a member of her family, just as in the usual marriage

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the girl gives up her own family and her ancestor gods for those of her husband.

Soewakă was the son of a man whose elder brother had no male child, but a daughter. Soewakă married as a sentană this daughter, Metoe, who was his paternal parallel first cousin. Her father was then to him father-in-law, uncle, and adopted father (fig. 1, III).[4] Soewakă lived in the house of his father-in-law and later inherited it. Soewakă had only one child by Metoe, a daughter. He then took a second wife, who was Méweh (eldest daughter of Bedil and paternal parallel cousin of Rendah), and had by her five children, two of whom have married back into the family which concerns us here (fig. 2, IV).

It is customary, and considered more suitable, for a man who takes a second wife to provide her with a house of her own, so that the two wives, at least during the early years, will not have to live in too close proximity.[5] Soewakă built for Méweh what is called a koeboe, an informal sort of house, set out in the ricefields, not within the circumscribed limits of the village. Here Méweh still lives, although her children are grown up and married. With her are her second son, Tèmplok, with his wife and two

[4] A Balinese states the custom for choosing a sentană: "Take the family nearest on the male side, and if there is none [no son], only then can he be taken from the female side" (Ida Bagoes Hadipta, in an article on ancient adat in Bhăwanăgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 73).

[5] Household and dependents of Soewakă:

"Town house"

Soewakă	
Metoe	his first wife
Popol	youngest son of Soewakă by his second wife
Te'er	wife of Popol
child of Popol and Te'er	
Sampring	mother of Metoe
Koeboe No 1	
Méweh	second wife of Soewakă
Tèmplok	son of Soewakă and Méweh
Kébek	wife of Tèmplok
2 children of Tèmplok and Kébek	
Poepoel	son of Soewakă and Méweh
Koeboe No. 2	
Loe'ed	daughter of Soewakă by Metoe (first wife)
Gemoeh	husband of Loe'ed
6 children of Gemoeh and Loe'ed.	

The total is twenty people, eleven adults and nine children, living in the three houses, but receiving their share of the common rice supply, kept in the "town house." Soewakă, and all the young men of the three households, work the ricefields which he inherited from Metoe's father.

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595 children, and her third son, Poepoel, who is unmarried. Her youngest son,
591 Popol, lives with his wife and child in the "town house" with his father and
Metoe. Metoe's daughter Loe'ed lives with her husband and her six children
592 in another koeboe also on her father's land, for the husband is poor and landless, and glad to work his father-in-law's fields in return for his share of the crop. (He is not a sentanā, as Méweh has sons enough to carry on the line. Such a working relationship is called silih, which has the meaning of borrowing or repaying a debt, in friendly exchange.) Soewakā says that all these people, that is the two wives with all their children, sons- and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren (with the exception of the daughter Sémbrod and the son Keroenā), and including also the old mother of Metoe, all these people "get rice at his house." But those who live in the koeboes cook it in their own houses. Here the term which was used for the de-
552 pendence of Dog in Rendah's house, ngerob, does not apply, for although they share the crop, they do not share a kitchen. Nevertheless Metoe's portion, which came to Soewakā as sentanā, has sufficed to maintain his entire second family, as well as Metoe's daughter, with her husband and six children.

Keroenā, the eldest son of Soewakā and Méweh, also became a sentanā.
591 He married Saboh, the only daughter of Njadet and Njambléh. Njambléh
608 is his mother's paternal parallel cousin, and Njadet the son of his mother's
582 father's paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, II). It will be remembered that Njadet and Njambléh were the children of paternal parallel cousins (p. 16).

The youngest son of Méweh, Popol, has married his maternal cross-cousin, Te'er, the daughter of Gari (fig. 1, IV, a). But this description, though biologically true, does not quite fit the case. Gari, born the brother of Méweh, was adopted at the age of three months by a childless uncle, Klepoeg. He became, then, by adoption, Méweh's paternal parallel cousin, instead of her brother. The marriage of Popol and Te'er is to be considered socially as another marriage of the children of paternal parallel cousins (fig. 1, IV, b).

582 There is one more child of Méweh who concerns us here, the daughter
611 Sémbrod, who married the son of her father's male paternal cross-cousin (fig. 1, III). Her case differs from that of her brother Popol, in that her relation to her husband sprang from an original cross-cousinship, carried through a parallel phase in the second generation; and Popol's relation to his wife (considered socially) sprang from an original parallel cousinship, carried through a cross phase in the second generation. Note that the description of Sémbrod's case holds true whether she is considered as the

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It came about in this way: the Tjokordā, prince of the district, was waging war on the region to the south of Sajan. He was victorious, and the inhabitants fled, leaving the country deserted. Krèbèk, the fourth son of Géwar, was sent away by the Tjokordā to Bandjar Toenon, in the conquered district, as a settler. He was given a grant of land, and therefore did not succeed to any of his father's lands in Sajan.

The fifth son, Siboh, who might have been expected to inherit the paternal house, was married as a sentanā, and moved away to the house of his father-in-law in Bandjar Mas, thereby forfeiting his claim. And so it was that the third son, Klepoeg, was the only one left to inherit the house of Géwar. His two elder brothers already had houses of their own, and his two younger brothers had departed from the bandjar before their father's death.

Now Klepoeg had the house, and he took two wives, but he had no children. This was an important matter not only to him, but to the entire family. For although each pekarangan must contain its individual household temple, the sanggah of the paternal house is larger, and all the children and grandchildren feel a responsibility for keeping up this parent-temple, whence their own house-temples spring. Surely the spirit of the forefathers is more powerful there! And so an heir must be found for Klepoeg, who has inherited the house of Géwar and become guardian of his sanggah. The eldest brother, Bedil, who has already three daughters, hands over to Klepoeg his first-born son, at the age of three months. This child, who is Gari, still lives in the house of Géwar. He has inherited his grandfather's house, not as the child of the eldest son, but as the adopted child of the youngest son who remained at home.

The house in which Bedil lived has passed on to his younger son Dariā, who lives there now with his wife and four children (House 3).

It is difficult to trace the inheritance of property other than the dwelling house. For the ricefields are loaned, mortgaged, paid for in labor, or held by a system of tenantry with a sharing of the crops, all arrangements made between individuals, rarely with a written agreement. Within the family land is loosely held, and a man will speak of as his all property belonging to himself and his brothers, even of his cousins. Princes claim as theirs land which may have been given as a grant by their father or grandfather in return for services already rendered, or else let out on a crop-sharing basis, or even land originally owned by the commoner, but which the prince has planted with lines of his own coconut trees between the fields. The Balinese have an extraordinary memory for their relative indebtedness to every individual of their acquaintance, and the balance of favors given and